Industrial Policy . . .

(Continued from page 5)

the same period, the proportion of white youths in the labor force actually *increased*.

More and more black youths, including many who are no longer in school, are obtaining no job experience at all. The proportion of black teenage males who have *never* held a job increased from 32.7 to 52.8 percent between 1966 and 1977; for black males under 24, the percentage grew from 9.9 to 23.3 percent. Research shows, not surprisingly, that joblessness during youth has a harmful impact on one's future success in the job market.

The State of the Economy and Antidiscrimination Programs

Another reason why minorities have a special interest in the industrial policy debate is that the impact of antibias programs to enhance minority jobs tends to be greater in a tight labor market.

In a tight labor market, job vacancies are numerous, unemployment is of short duration, and wages are higher. Moreover, the labor force becomes larger because increased job opportunities not only reduce unemployment but also draw into the labor force those workers who, in periods when the labor market is slack, respond to fading job prospects by dropping out of the labor force altogether. Thus, in a tight labor market the status of minority workers improves because unemployment is reduced, wages are higher, and better jobs are available.

Affirmative action (and other antibias programs) are more successful in tight labor markets than in slack ones. Not only are there sufficient positions for qualified workers, but also employers faced with a labor shortage are not as resistant to affirmative action pressures. Furthermore, in a favorable economic climate, those who support affirmative action are encouraged to push such programs because they perceive greater chances for success. Finally, there is less opposition to affirmative action from dominant group employees when there are sufficient jobs available, because they are less likely to view the encroachment of minorities as a threat to their own employment.

In a slack labor market, on the other hand, employers tend to be more selective in recruiting and in promoting; they can afford to demand more in the way of experience, skill, and education than a job actually requires. Facing a labor surplus, they are more resistant to affirmative action pressures. And, the longer the labor market is slack, the less pressure they receive from supporters of affirmative action, who become increasingly discouraged in the face of shrinking resources. The situation is exacerbated by increasing hostility to affirmative action by dominant group workers. Especially when quotas are imposed under conditions of economic retrenchment, minority competition means that nonminority workers lose jobs.

In short, the success of affirmative action and other antidiscrimination programs is in no small measure related to the state of the economy.

Industrial Policy and Minority Interests

The leading proponents of industrial policy have not emphasized the unique problems the changing economy poses for the minority community. Industrial policy is viewed as a universal program, designed to benefit all segments of society, and the problems of a particular group will supposedly be resolved without special attention. But as the current recovery has made clear, rising tides do not necessarily lift all boats. And although there is general agreement among industrial policy advocates that our major industries ought to be made internationally competitive and that economic growth ought to be restored, the debate over specific steps to achieve a robust economy reflects different group interests and concerns. For example, some may emphasize the need for huge new capital investments to stimulate economic growth, while others may stress the need for legislation on plant closings to minimize the adverse effects of capital mobility.

In the final analysis, the political fate of industrial policy will depend upon the degree of consensus and compromise achieved among diverse groups. As one of these groups, black Americans are entering the debate cognizant of and influenced by the knowledge that a majority of black workers hold blue collar jobs, a disproportionate number are concentrated in the low wage sector of the economy, and a significant percentage work in industries that have registered job losses due to plant closings, technological innovations, and capital mobility. What blacks will consider in weighing industrial policy proposals is the relative impact of proposed strategies on labor markets in different regions of the country; the type, variety, and volume of jobs to be generated; the extent to which residents in low-income neighborhoods will have access to these jobs; the quality of these jobs in terms of stability and wages; the extent to which proposed strategies enhance the employment opportunities of both new entrants into the labor market and the currently unemployed; and whether the benefits from economic development and employment provide reasonable returns on public investment.

Indeed, these issues have already been underlined by black thinkers in recent conferences organized by the Joint Center for Political Studies. In two of these conferences, thirty prominent black scholars and citizens met in Tarrytown, New York, to explore the array of problems, including economic ones, facing black Americans in the last two decades of the twentieth century. The Tarrytown meetings produced a statement outlining *A Policy Framework for Racial Justice*. In a third conference, eight representatives from the Tarrytown group met with members of the National Black Leadership Forum to refine the statement. During this meeting, the issue of blacks and industrial policy was explored, and Eddie Williams, president of the Joint Center, was asked to help organize at least two conferences on the specific issue of minority economic opportunity and industrial policy, and invite some of the leading proponents of industrial policy to attend.

(Continued on page 8)

Telescope

Three New JCPS Publications

In February, the Joint Center released three important new publications.

The *JCPS Congressional District Fact Book* is a crucial reference handbook for anyone involved in national registration and get-out-the-vote efforts, political—or nonpolitical—fundraising, or locating markets and constituencies. It provides demographic and political data on each state and the new (post-1980) congressional districts, arranged in tables for easy reference and quick comparisons. Demographic data were compiled from U.S. Census Bureau publications; voting and election data, from the *Congressional Quarterly* and Federal Election Commission publications. Included in the *Fact Book* are

—the percentage of blacks and Hispanics in the voting-age population;
—the percentage of blue-collar workers in the labor force;
—the percentage of the vote received by Reagan, Carter, and Anderson, and by the incumbent member of Congress in the last election;
—the amounts of money spent in the 1982 congressional campaign by Republicans and Democrats;
—and much more.

Highlight tables cover many additional indicators as well: white ethnic populations, women in the labor force, college student and armed forces populations, and others. They provide a fascinating profile of America's basic political units.

The *Fact Book* was edited by Thomas E. Cavanagh, a research associate at the Joint Center.

The second publication is *How to Use Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act*, third edition, by Barbara Y. Phillips.

The first two editions of the manual were published after the initial passage of the Act in 1965 and after the extension in 1975, respectively. In June 1982, after a two-year battle, the U.S. Congress extended Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act for 25 years. The conditions for local jurisdictions to "bail out" from coverage by Section 5 were thoroughly revised, and other sections of the Act were altered as well. In addition, Section 2 was amended to make it clear that in cases brought under this section, a violation of voting rights can be proved by showing discriminatory results. This new edition of *How to Use Section 5* covers these changes and lays out, in simple, straightforward language, the ways citizens can become involved in the procedures set up in the VRA to guard the electoral rights of minorities.

The manual is addressed to lay readers since, in many cases, Section 5 can be used without assistance from an attorney. While the manual is mainly concerned with the preclearance procedures, it also provides information about requesting federal examiners and observers, describes the language-assistance provisions of the Act, and discusses briefly the applications of Section 2 and the bail-out provisions in Section 4.

Barbara Y. Phillips, who prepared this edition for the Joint Center, is an attorney with long experience in civil rights law. During 1981-1982, she was a litigator with the Voting Rights Project of the Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights Under Law.

Both the *JCPS Congressional District Fact Book* ($5.95) and *How to Use Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act* ($4.95) are available from the Publications Clerk, Joint Center for Political Studies, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004.

The third publication, *The Impact of the Black Electorate* by Thomas E. Cavanagh, makes clear the potential power of the black vote in 1984 and beyond. Several factors have come together to place the black vote in the spotlight this year: the campaign of the Reverend Jesse Jackson, the upsurge in the number of registered black voters and black elected officials over the past year, the mustering of several major voter registration campaigns, and the unprecedented low approval ratings that blacks give the incumbent president.

Cavanagh, research associate at the Joint Center, examines the black vote from several perspectives. After telling where potential black voters are most heavily concentrated, he discusses trends in black registration, turnout, and partisanship, and concludes with some observations on the importance of the black vote in the election of black officeholders, convention delegates, the Electoral College, and the Senate.

This volume is the first in a series of about six election reports the Joint Center will issue during 1984 and 1985; it is available to the public for $4.95, prepaid. Readers may purchase the entire series for $25.

HHS Panel to Study Gap in Black and White Health

Margaret M. Heckler, secretary of Health and Human Services, has announced the creation of a task force to study the health problems of blacks and other minorities in an attempt to close the gap between the death and disease rates of blacks and whites. In releasing the 1983 annual report of the nation's health in January, Heckler said the health of all Americans—including blacks—has improved substantially, but she acknowledged a continuing disparity in the rate of death and disease between the majority population and minorities.

This is particularly evident in the black infant mortality rate, which, according to Heckler, was nearly twice that of whites in 1981. And in 1982, the life expectancy of blacks—69.3 years—was still six years shorter than that of whites—75.1 years—even though the life expectancy of blacks had increased by more than 5 years since 1970.

Dr. Thomas Malone, deputy director of the National Institutes of Health, who is black, will head the task force.

Free Publications on Federal Campaign Finance

Arthur Andersen and Company, one of the nation's largest public accounting firms, has published three booklets on federal campaign finance—*Financial Management of Federal Election Campaigns, Contributing to Federal Election Campaigns,* and *PACs: Political Action Committees.* These are

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. . . Housing Bias

(Continued from page 4)

posed to the six-month period applicable under the Fair Housing Act.

The Sherman Act is also a criminal statute, and the Justice Department can prosecute violations as felonies. The Act authorizes sentences of up to three years and fines up to $1 million. While such prosecutions are unlikely in the near term, if this avenue can be established, they become a future threat.

And lastly, the antitrust laws are rooted in a fundamental economic purpose. They cannot be reinterpreted to accommodate civil rights policy shifts within a given administration, without risking drastic and unforeseen economic consequences outside the civil rights sphere.

To be sure, antitrust suits are costly, complex, and time consuming. To apply antitrust law in a new area such as housing discrimination will require the resolution of many issues that have only been touched on in this article. Victory on such a theory is neither guaranteed nor easy to achieve. But the power of the Sherman Act is too great a force to remain unharnessed in the struggle for civil rights.

. . . Telescope

(Continued from page 7)

brief, basic summaries, in question-and-answer format, of federal regulations regarding the financial side of campaigns and PACs. For free copies of these publications write Ann Lancaster, Arthur Andersen and Co., 1666 K St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006; or call (202) 862-3121.

Industrial Policy . . .

(Continued from page 6)

The first of these, cosponsored by the A. Philip Randolph Education Fund, was held in late October 1983 in New York and dealt with issues such as the implications of various industrial policies for minorities, and deindustrialization and the black community. Participants at this conference underscored the fact that the industrial policy debate has made very little reference to the place of minorities in the American economy. Since blacks have belatedly entered the debate over industrial policy, their interests and concerns have not been a topic of discussion among industrial policy advocates. And because there were few explicit signs that minorities were especially interested in the question of industrial policy, it did not occur to many policy makers to seek their counsel on particular proposals.

This will undoubtedly change. If the October conference in New York is any indication, minorities will be playing an increasingly active role in helping to develop and shape an industrial policy sensitive to the needs and problems of all workers in society.

In the 1970s, the focus of the civil rights movement shifted from the passage of antidiscrimination legislation to affirmative action programs in order to address the problems created by previous discrimination. In the closing decades of the twentieth century, the civil rights agenda will have to be expanded to help confront what could be the most difficult challenge of all: obstacles to minority economic advancement that flow directly from the organization of the American economy.

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FOURTH NATIONAL POLICY INSTITUTE

Black officials from 39 states; Washington, D.C.; St. Thomas, Virgin Islands; and Nova Scotia, Canada, came to Washington for two and a half days of exciting meetings with their colleagues and others. This issue of *Focus* summarizes the proceedings of the institute, including

—A roundup of the twenty institute seminars
—"Two Sleeping Giants: The Black Church and Black Politics," by Bishop John Hurst Adams
—"Turning Our Cities Around," by Mayor W. Wilson Goode

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Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

On behalf of the eight sponsors of last month's Fourth National Policy Institute, I would like to thank all those who contributed to the success of this highly acclaimed event.

The institute, by all accounts, was a smashing success. Perhaps the strongest evidence is the fervent requests by participants for future institutes. Some even called for yearly meetings—a prospect, I must say, that struck consternation into the minds of the sponsors.

If the FNPI (we fondly call it "Finipi") seemed like an effortless operation that could easily be run annually, it is a tribute to the efforts of many individuals and organizations. Jeanne Fox, conference coordinator; Alice Hall-Hayes, assistant conference coordinator; and Carolyn Barnett-Jones, conference secretary, deserve our gratitude and respect. They were heavily supported by other members of the Joint Center's staff throughout the planning stages and by a crew of volunteers, organized and supervised by Vernon Ricks of the Xerox Corporation, during the institute itself.

We also extend our thanks to the organizations that provided financial support for the institute:

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The sponsors took to heart the clear need for further policy institutes for black officials—at regular intervals, if not annually. As Newark Councilman Donald Tucker summed it up, "Another nine years must not slip by." To this end, the cosponsors agreed to create a permanent mechanism to facilitate communication among black elected and appointed officials at all levels of office.

As a first step, they established a national steering committee, consisting of the heads of the eight cosponsoring organizations, which will hold quarterly meetings to develop both institute programs and broader policy initiatives. The first such meeting will take place on April 18 in St. Louis. The steering committee will establish a regular schedule for national policy institutes and a structure for conducting the institutes.

We will, of course, take into account the many specific recommendations made by participants to increase the effectiveness of future meetings. Over thirty additional topics for seminars were suggested, including several "how to" sessions, workshops on women's issues, sessions devoted to particular local concerns, and many others. The possibility of regional institutes will be explored.

One comment from a participant is a fitting summary:

> At no other occasion are so many persons drawn together who exercise power at the local level and have great impact on the lives of so many people. . . . The institute—with its assembly of mayors, city council members, county commissioners, school board members, state legislators, et al.—is loaded with potential for effective power."

Eddie N. Williams
President

FOCUS

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Fourth National Policy Institute

From February 29 to March 3, 1984, 725 participants attended the Fourth National Policy Institute in Washington, D.C. The institute was cosponsored by the Joint Center for Political Studies, the Congressional Black Caucus, the Judicial Council of the National Bar Association, the National Association of Black County Officials, the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, the National Black Caucus of State Legislators, the National Caucus of Black School Board Members, and the National Conference of Black Mayors.

The schedule of activities was crowded, from the rousing general session (tape A) that opened the meeting; through two days of intense, instructive seminars, luncheons, and caucuses—with a little time off to enjoy a reception hosted by the mayor and city council of Washington—to the thoughtful and determined closing session (tape E; 2 tapes). But the participants were united by their seriousness of purpose and their dedication to finding new solutions to the long-standing problems of their communities. Attendance at all sessions was high; discussions were lively; and interest in continuing the process was expressed again and again.

Tuskegee Mayor Johnny Ford got the meeting rolling:

> There is a train a-coming—the Black Mayors' Express. It's a train that pulled out of the station in 1887, in Edenville, Florida, where 27 black men and women made up their minds to organize a town and elected the first black mayor in this nation. The same train stopped in 1899 in Hobson City, Alabama, and a black mayor got on board the train. The train pulled into Tryon, Alabama, in 1963, and brother Clyde Foster got on board. Dick Hatcher got on in Gary, Indiana, in 1967. Carl Stokes got on in Cleveland. And when the train came through Tuskegee, it was moving so fast, and Tuskegee's so small, it didn't stop, it just slowed down and I hopped on board the train in 1972. . . . As president of the National Conference of Black Mayors, I hereby declare that each of you is an honorary citizen of all our cities across the country— and you don't have to pay any taxes."

Profile of Participants

Who was at the meeting beside the mayors? Black elected and appointed officials from every level of office, from 39 states and Washington, D.C.; St. Thomas, Virgin Islands; and Nova Scotia, Canada. Every state with a black population over 1 percent was represented; the largest delegations came from New York, New Jersey, and California. Municipal officials and school board members predominated in numbers. In addition, several hundred observers—scholars, corporate and labor representatives, members of public interest groups, federal officials—attended the meeting.

Participants demonstrated a broad range of interests: the two most popular seminar topics were "Strategies to Deal with the Crisis in the Black Family" and "Private Sector Resources," which drew standing-room-only crowds. But several themes emerged in many different contexts throughout the conference: the central importance of the black church, the need for renewed emphasis on improving education for black youth and continuing education for adults, and the potential effectiveness of black political participation. Overall, the officials exuded a strong sense of confidence in the ability of the black community to find new approaches to its problems and the means to use them.

At the second general session (tape C), on Friday morning, black officials were urged to exercise their political clout with white elected officials. Congressman William Gray (D-PA) spoke of his amendment to the Export Administration Act, which has passed in the House of Representatives. His amendment imposes restrictions on U.S. economic involvement in South Africa. He said local pressure had been instrumental in securing House passage and asked officials to call their senators to demonstrate support for the amendment.

Women's Caucus

Also on Friday morning, women participating in the institute caucused over breakfast (tape F; 2 tapes). Some 140 women attended—mostly officeholders from every level of government. They were briefed on a variety of women's issues by Ivy Davis, subcommittee counsel to the House Committee on the Judiciary; Jeanne Fox, conference coordinator for the institute; Gracia Hillman, executive director of the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation; Barbara Hutchison, vice president of the American Federation of Government Employees; Brenda Watkins Noel, Director of Finance at the Joint Center for Political Studies; and C. Delores Tucker, former secretary of state of Pennsylvania. Erma Henderson, president of the Detroit City Council, chaired the meeting.

After enthusiastic discussion, the group agreed to a number of resolutions:

- The women vigorously supported voter registration efforts and expressed their conviction that "2 million more in '84" is an achievable goal.
- They called for wider representation of black women in both political parties, at all levels of government, and within national, state, and local membership organizations.
- They pledged to work toward doubling black representation in the U.S. Congress—with particular emphasis on the South.
- They recommended that ongoing commissions on women be set up at the state, city, and national levels.
- They called for greater recognition of black women leaders such as Dorothy Height and Margaret Bush Wilson.

Education was a major concern of the group. The women discussed ways to encourage closer cooperation between parents and schools to improve education.

Another major issue that surfaced was the relationship of black women to the feminist movement. Chairwoman Erma Henderson urged black women to join and participate in mainstream women's organizations; "White women need to be educated," she said, "to understand that they cannot go very far without black women. And black women must be educated to come out of the closet and join their white sisters." The group resolved to support the Equal Rights Amendment and to build greater under-

standing among black women of the importance to them of the ERA.

There was strong sentiment that a meeting such as this was long overdue and that a more active network needs to be established among black women officeholders.

Black officials also caucused by level of office, but those meetings were private, and notes and taping were not allowed. The heads of the organizations of black officials reported that the meetings were useful for information sharing and networking.

Seminars

Twenty seminars on thirteen topics composed the core of the institute. Each seminar was chaired by a black official with expertise in the subject; panelists were culled from academic, government, labor, and business circles as well as from among black officeholders. The sponsors hoped these diverse groups would stimulate creative thinking on shared problems.

Strategies to Deal with the Crisis in the Black Family

Session I *(tape #1). Chair:* Alan Wheat, U.S. House of Representatives, MO; *Panelists:* Douglas Glasgow, Vice President, National Urban League; Reverend Henry C. Gregory III, Shiloh Baptist Church, DC; Dorothy Height, President, National Council of Negro Women; Joyce Ladner, Professor, Howard University

Session II *(tape #14). Chair:* Lois M. DeBerry, State Representative, TN; *Panelists:* Reginald A. Eaves, County Commissioner, Fulton County, GA; Anna Jefferson, State Senator, NY; Eleanor Holmes Norton, Professor of Law, Georgetown University

The two seminars on the black family were among the best attended at the institute. Much of the discussion focused on preparing black youth for responsible adulthood. Panelists noted the importance of schools and the black church in socializing young blacks, and they urged these institutions to broaden their role. Anna Jefferson, for instance, suggested that schools provide day care before and after school hours for the children of working mothers.

Several panelists lamented the absence of attractive black role models on television. Consensus held that radio disc jockeys wield a great deal of influence over black teens and should, therefore, be enlisted in the effort to prepare their listeners for responsible adulthood. It was also agreed that the black community in general, including professionals, professional associations, and Greek letter organizations, must assume more responsibility for solving the problems plaguing the black family.

Members of the audience asked how they, as black elected officials, might implement the recommendations they had just heard. Panelists cautioned the officials not to be stymied by a lack of funds: "Many actions require only time, energy, and attention," said one. Such actions include facilitating contact between concerned black adults and black youth and encouraging parents in one's district to (1) educate their children about the responsibilities that go along with sexual activity and (2) to participate in community activities such as school board meetings.

Political Strategies I

Session I *(tape #5). Chair:* Kurt L. Schmoke, State's Attorney for Baltimore City, MD; *Panelists:* Robert Garcia, U.S. House of Representatives, NY; Charlene Drew Jarvis, Councilwoman, DC; Melvin H. King, Director, Community Fellows Program, MIT

Session II *(tape #9). Chair:* Saundra M. Graham, State Representative and Councilwoman, Cambridge, MA; *Panelists:* Thomas E. Cavanagh, Research Associate, JCPS; Ivanhoe Donaldson, Vice President, Public Finance Group, E.F. Hutton; Harvey Gantt, Mayor, Charlotte, NC

Sessions on political strategy also highlighted the influence of the black church. In the political realm, the black church can be most effective in spurring potential black leaders to action, especially in areas where it is difficult to recruit black candidates.

Ivanhoe Donaldson, former deputy mayor of the District of Columbia, described the black community as an advocacy community, by which he meant that its function has often been to organize at the grass-roots level and agitate for social and political change. The church can further political aims because it is well organized in individual neighborhoods.

A second topic discussed at length was the political significance of race. Again, Mr. Donaldson: "Jesse Jackson is being supported by black elected officials in majority black constituencies, but black officials in predominantly white locales seem reluctant to support him for fear of harming themselves politically."

Harvey Gantt and Mel King recommended the building of interracial coalitions and suggested that black candidates follow that tack in their campaigns. Ways of doing this include advocating management of a city's growth to make government more responsible to both black and white areas that had previously been overlooked; reserving city jobs for city residents to establish affirmative action for whites as well as blacks; and decentralizing city government to provide for better representation of both poor black and poor white areas.

Several other recommendations concerned the *management* of a campaign: (1) play to your strength: advertise through black-owned media, organize at the grass roots, and keep the black community unified to prevent its vote from being divided; (2) run an issue-oriented campaign; (3) raise money through direct mail, but make personal visits to wealthy, would-be supporters; and (4) when conducting polls, use interviewers whose race is the same as that of the people they will question to ensure the most accurate results.

Some members of the audience advocated the establishment of a nationwide black PAC.

Educational Policies and Strategies for Black Advancement

Session I *(tape #10). Chair:* Wilhelmina R. Delco, State Representative, TX; *Panelists:* Mary Berry, Commissioner, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; Reverend David H. Eaton, President, School Board, DC; John W. Smith, Senior Assistant, Committee on Education and Labor, U.S. House of Representatives

Session II *(tape #17). Chair:* Mary A. Lett, School Board President, East Orange, NJ; *Panelists:* Paul Cato, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Bakersfield, CA; Odessa M. Shannon, School Board Member,

(Continued on p. 9)

Two Sleeping Giants: The Black Church and Black Politics

by Bishop John Hurst Adams

(The author is chairman of the Congress of National Black Churches and a member of the board of governors of the Joint Center. This is an abridged version of Bishop Adam's remarks; his full speech is available on Tape B.)

Dr. Lawrence Jones, Dean of Howard University's Divinity School, and eminent scholar on the black church, refers to the black church as *"a sleeping giant, a battery waiting to be hooked up to an engine powerful enough to call all of its energy."*

Dr. Diane Pinderhughes, assistant professor of government at Dartmouth College, and adjunct fellow of the Joint Center for Political Studies, entitles an article written for the Urban League's *State of Black America, 1984* "The Black Vote—The Sleeping Giant."

We may be living in the era when these two giants are awakening to their potential and being charged by each other. The black church's direct or indirect access to a majority of black people, its well-trained leadership, its rich history of being on the frontier of social change, and its resource of church-person/politicians fit it to make a large contribution as blacks are increasingly reaching for answers to the question of justice and equality through the political process. The interest of blacks in politics has been fermenting and growing over the years since the Civil Rights movement and the passage of the Voting Rights Act. As the two giants awaken and converge around the goals of liberty and justice for all, at center stage are many church persons who are politicians, and politicians who are church persons—including one who now seeks the Democratic nomination for president of the United States.

Sleeping giant is an appropriate description of both the black church and the possibilities in politics for blacks. The positive and dramatic changes these giants can effect in political, economic, and social life can happen with only modest increases in black voter registration and participation and an even more modest *collective use of the economic and human resources of the black church.*

There is, however, a potential for conflict between these giants as they awaken to their opportunity in the eighties. But conflict between church leaders and a new class of politicians over the first allegiance of the same constituency and over whose turf is whose must be avoided by conversation, cooperation, and attention to the larger agenda of justice for all.

Definitions

I want to enhance these remarks with a definition of the black church and a definition of politics.

The black church is the people of African descent who gather in the name of Jesus Christ in local, regional, and national fellowships to worship, organize, and work to move life on earth toward the spiritual and ethical ideal of the Kingdom of God, where love is the motive and justice tempered by mercy is the means.

These fellowships seek to: (1) continue the life and work of Jesus; (2) serve as agents of the liberating activity of God in the world; (3) develop collective institutional power on behalf of personhood through service and change; (4) carry the ethic of love and justice. The black church includes the historic and culturally created black denominations, sects, and movements as well as those black fellowships that are part of predominantly white denominations. The mission of the church is expressed through every type of human endeavor: from music and poetry to property management, from educational enterprises here in America to overseas work, from honoring traditions to organizing volunteers.

Politics is collective action to participate in and influence the governance over one's life. This collective action includes: (1) shaping public policy; (2) influencing the outcome of elections; (3) helping to define issues and the rules of governance.

The actions are performed through structures and functions that in many ways parallel those of the

Women's Caucus Photos: Lisa Berg

Clarence Mitchell III, President, National Black Caucus of State Legislators; Eddie N. Williams, President, Joint Center for Political Studies; Mary Lett, Vice President, National Caucus of Black School Board Members; Webster J. Guillory, President, National Association of Black County Officials.

Seminar on Private Sector Resources

church: organizing a constituency is not unlike calling a congregation; education is a prime concern in both spheres; service is a basic function of each. Most important, both the black church and black political activism seek to *enlarge the possible.*

The Black Church in Politics

The black church represents the first sustained protest of, and alternative to, racism in America. It was the first institutional affirmation of the full worth and dignity of Americans of African descent. The savior became the liberator. "Heaven" and "the next world" became "out of slavery" and "in freedom's land." The spirituals are freedom song as well as religious witness.

The founding fathers and mothers of the black church were creative and exceptional theologians without benefit of theological education.

The black church initially addressed the issues of black sanity and survival. Excluded from the white society, the black church developed its own society. Programmed for self-hate and disunity, it developed its own community of love, cooperation, and self-respect. Prohibited from participation in the social, economic, and political life, it built an all-inclusive institution that provided for social life, economic neccessities, and political participation. The black church became, for enslaved, oppressed, and segregated blacks, an alternative society that said *yes* to them when the white society said *no.*

The black church became political party, social club, strategy and planning meeting, a place to be somebody, a community inside the community, the rebuilder of hope, home base for freedom movement, leadership development program, promoter of education and economic development, and the advocate of a philosophy of self-help.

Hiram Rhoades Revels, Jeremiah Haralson, Richard Harvey Cain, Adam Clayton Powell, Walter Fauntroy, William Gray, Andrew Young, Jesse Jackson. The names out of past and present personalize the long tradition of black church activists in politics. Beyond these are the thousands of black clergy and lay people who are deeply involved and greatly influential in local politics.

There are a number of reasons why the black church takes such a large role in politics. First, the black church has never really accepted the frequently pronounced dichotomies between the spiritual and material, between the temple and the spirit that occupies it, between the political and the theological, between the life of faith and life of the world, between church and state.

Second, the government alone has the resources and the authority to enable us to fulfill our mandate: to feed the hungry, house the homeless, heal the sick, and free the captives. Its powers must be used if we are to keep faith with the nature and purpose of the church. Without the continuing pressure of spiritual, moral force, government functions such as levying and spending taxes, enacting and enforcing laws, and even educating our children become instruments of bondage.

Third, we have tried many strategies and solutions

Julian C. Dixon, Chairman, Congressional Black Caucus

Revius O. Ortique, Jr., Chairman, Judicial Council of the NBA

Donald Tucker, President, National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials

other than political involvement with only limited results. Racism has not gone, and justice has not arrived. It is time to try political solutions to political problems and economic solutions to economic problems.

At the heart of the black church is the task of redemption. The theology of redemption applies to both individuals and institutions. Just as we respond to the needs and hopes of individuals, we must redeem the structures and systems that oppress and limit the opportunity for individuals to be fully and truly human. When political systems set priorities that upgrade destruction and death and downgrade development and life, the theology of redemption must speak and act. When the political system employs its powers to reverse and sabotage equal rights, civil rights, and human justice, the theology of redemption must speak and act. The system must be redeemed and made more humane and just and equitable.

Despite growing adversity and erosion in recent years, the black church remains the strongest and biggest institution black people have. It has the people; it has the organization; it has the talent; it has the resources; it has the history, and increasingly, it has the leadership. This means that the black church has an enormous obligation to black people: to exercise a redemptive influence on the political process which greatly determines their lives.

— Persons and institutions that oppress and deny personhood have to be changed or replaced;

— Policies that are unfair, unjust, and preferential must be redrafted to be fair, just, and equitable;

— Governments ought not to be selected by less than one-third of the eligible voters: that is no mandate;

— The vision of America that *should be* must be clearly stated, people must be organized to support it; and people who share it must be elected. We must proceed to make this the land of the free and the home of the brave.

The current president was elected by only 28 percent of the eligible voters in this nation, and he won because of the folk who stayed home. The black church seeks to change this because more black people stayed home than any other group. A change of 20 percent in the turnout of black voters would have yielded different results, and the black church proposes that we together get that 20 or 25 percent additional black voters registered. Why not 2 million more in '84?

Mayor Marion Barry, Washington, D.C.; Mayor Johnny L. Ford, Sr., President, National Conference of Black Mayors

The black church is about using what is to perform its mission in the world—including the world of politics. We plan to use increased political participation to leverage a more just and equitable society. We will work to elect the *best* and create accountability to black folk. Trickle-down will become rise-up. We demand governance that is truly of *all* the people, by *all* the people, and for *all* the people.

The black church should be an institution and instrument of empowerment, liberation, and community for those ignored and excluded by historic institutions and instruments of power, freedom, and justice. In that way, we will succeed in enlarging the possible.

Turning Our Cities Around

by W. Wilson Goode

(The author was elected Philadelphia's first black mayor in November 1983. His full speech is available on Tape D.)

This is a critical time in our nation, a critical time for our cities. Many of our problems have been with us for a very long time—and have gone unresolved for a very, very long time.

Unemployment is still running high in our major cities. There are too few job training and retraining programs, and our public school systems yearly produce young people who are unable to function properly in our society. Our housing stock is deteriorating, day by day; there are very few efforts in place to reverse this deterioration; and heating and utility bills are far beyond the reach of many of the poor and unemployed in our cities. Funds for Medicare, Medicaid, and other health programs have been reduced, leaving many people unable to find health care.

Six Essential Steps

In order to confront these problems, there are six steps we ought to take—at least six. These steps will help us begin to turn our urban areas around.

First, we must call upon those in Washington to do all they can to stimulate the economy: until we have an upsurge in our national economy, our local economies will not improve. To achieve this upsurge, federal officials must first bring down the national deficit. They must also find a way to provide incentives to our local communities so that we don't always compete, one with the other, for very limited resources. When that happens, no one wins.

As a second step toward reviving our urban areas, we must upgrade our human capital. I don't understand how anyone who runs this country can cut off money for the upgrading of our human capital. We need job training programs; we need to give tools to the young people in our cities, those who have lost their jobs as well as those who never had jobs. We must prepare them for the new economy of the future.

Third, we must maintain and upgrade our urban infrastructure—streets, bridges, transit systems, everything. With this will come hundreds of thousands of jobs, putting people back to work.

Improving our human service system is my fourth

point. We need a crisis management program in our cities, so that the old folks who are homeless and those who need food and clothing will be taken care of.

Fifth, we must promote public/private partnership. There is no way that we can solve the problems of our urban areas by ourselves. We must rely upon private foundations and the business community to help us solve these basic problems. For example, I recently told the private sector in Philadelphia that for every dollar they raised to employ a young person this coming summer, I would put up one public dollar, and they have agreed to provide enough money to employ 4,000 young people. After the city matches this amount and adds the available federal dollars, we plan to employ some 20,000 young people who never had jobs before.

The sixth step is to give our cities the tools they require—tools only the federal government can provide. We need urban action grants to catalyze key economic development projects. We need block grants to rebuild our housing. And we need entitlement programs to support the health and welfare of our citizens.

The Responsibility of Black Officials

Everyone here must understand what it takes to turn our cities around. It's easy to walk into office with a lot of emotionalism, with people believing that things will be better tomorrow simply because you're in office. But unless you know what you're doing, unless you manage your resources well, you will simply take people on an emotional ride to disappointment. And we should not do that.

Black officials have a unique opportunity to help reshape our cities, to help change the human condition for those millions of people who are unemployed and those who have lost their hope. In the last 15 years, we have increased our numbers dramatically—I'm sure you've heard all of these figures again and again. The 1970s: ten blacks in Congress; in 1984, 21. In 1970: 48 black mayors; in 1984, 253 black mayors.

But the question is, "has the election of black officials made a real difference for the people we represent?" We were not elected to adopt and adapt to the habits and attitudes of those who preceded us. We were not elected to preside over the old order.

Sometimes people ask me, "Why don't you do it the way it was done before?" I tell them—and I tell you—that's not why I ran for office. I have no interest in presiding over the old order of things in my city, none whatsoever.

We are in office to bring about a new order. We must learn to manage our resources more effectively, more efficiently than ever before. We must pass laws at the state level, and in Congress, that will drastically change the condition of the people we serve.

Black people for 300 years have taken a quarter and stretched it to a dollar. If we can do that, we can certainly run a city to benefit those we serve. We have survived slavery and oppression: I grew up on a farm where my parents were sharecroppers, and I saw my father, who could not read or write, go out year in and year out, take nothing and make something out of it. If my daddy can do that, I can run Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

We have learned through years of struggle how to solve problems, how to turn situations around, how to take nothing and make something out of it. I submit to you that we have to use this experience, use the same things that our grandparents did, and our granduncles and grandaunts used, in order to turn our urban areas around. If we do this, our cities will be in good shape.

We always must remember that we are not just people who were elected to office—we are also leaders in our communities. And therefore, we must have a prime concern for the black family, for black youth, for black self-respect, and for the hope that we all need for the future.

We are a strong people, deeply rooted in the family. And our public policies must help to build strong families. Unless they do, we cannot build a strong society.

Remembering Our History

We must also remember how we got where we are. Before I ran for office, five black men ran before me. I would not be where I am if those black men had not paved the way for me. Too often we feel that we got here by ourselves, and we lose a sense of our history.

Because of this history, however, we now have an opportunity to bring new vision and spirit to our cities, to bring new hope to those who have long been without hope. We have an obligation and a responsibility to make things better for those who have put us in office. We cannot use the same old excuse—well, it's been 100 years, and nothing has changed. Much has changed, and if our forefathers and foremothers could change things for us, we should not expect any less of ourselves.

These jobs are very difficult. We need help and support in all of our cities and in all of our state houses around this country. We must understand that all of us are tied together—brothers and sisters—because we are indeed trying to achieve the same goals and same purposes: we're trying to make life better for the people we have been elected to serve.

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(Continued from p. 4)

Montgomery County, MD; Kenneth S. Tollett, Director, The Institute for the Study of Educational Policy, Howard University

Politics also figured into this seminar. The panelists agreed that problems in the nation's schools are traceable to the policies of the current administration. Mary Berry explicitly blamed the administration's failures in other areas such as employment and family assistance. Mary Lett encouraged officials to work toward improving the relationship between parents and teachers.

Wilhelmina Delco noted that the federal government is currently reducing its role in education and that this requires redoubled efforts by volunteers from black churches, professional groups, and Greek letter organizations to aid local schools.

These volunteers, along with other influential blacks, should press local corporations for contributions to improve neighborhood schools. Private industry seems willing to lend such support, said Kenneth Tollett, but nothing will happen without community pressure.

School desegregation was discussed, and a number of speakers conceded that voluntary desegregation will be used more widely in the near term. Voluntary plans alone, however, are considered insufficient to guarantee a quality education for all students. To bolster such programs, panelists called for strong administrators, increased teachers' salaries, merit pay, self-imposed achievement requirements within individual schools, and greater discipline. John W. Smith cited a research report—*Search for Effective Schools*, by Edmonds and Frederiksen—indicating that these factors can indeed improve a school's effectiveness.

Impact of U.S. Trade Policy on Black Economic Development *(tape #7)*

Chair: Robert C. Farrell, Councilman, Los Angeles, CA; *Panelists:* Colbert King, Senior Vice President, Riggs National Bank; Bruce Llewellyn, Coca Cola Bottling Plant of Philadelphia; Richard McElheney, Assistant Secretary for Trade Development, U.S. Department of Commerce; Leonard H. Robinson, Jr., Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of African Affairs, U.S. Department of State

The group agreed that blacks are minimally involved in international trade, although speakers cited different reasons. Among them: (1) available opportunities have simply not attracted many black entrepreneurs; (2) blacks generally lack the prerequisite business experience as owners and manufacturers within the U.S. economy; and (3) blacks have been falsely persuaded that they cannot do business profitably overseas.

How can black elected officials facilitate black involvement in international trade? Make sure that schools turn out well-educated black youth who can master the necessary entrepreneurial skills; persuade business schools to train more black entrepreneurs; and provide some assistance to fledgling black businesses so they don't have to compete directly with the GM's of the world. According to the panelists, education—of black entrepreneurs *and* students—will significantly further black interests in international business.

The Environment: State and Local Concerns *(tape # 20)*

Chair: Larry Young, State Representative, MD; *Panelists:* George Coling, Director, Urban Environment Conference; Charles J. Harrison, Jr., State Representative, MI; Sue Lerner, Director of Corporate Planning, Edison Electric Institute

Blacks are burdened disproportionately by environmental problems because they are more likely to hold industrial jobs where chemical processing or manufacturing poses health risks, according to the panelists in this seminar. The problem is exacerbated by blacks' concentration in urban areas, often in the proximity of hazardous waste dumps or polluting factories.

George Coling documented several cases in which environmental pollutants posed serious dangers to local, largely black, populations, including contamination of fish commonly used for food with DDT and PCBs and exposure of whole communities to radioactive wastes and pesticides. Coling also noted that funds to train blacks as toxic substance control specialists have been cut by nearly 88 percent in recent years, eliminating both jobs and the means to protect black communities from these hazards.

As a result, suggested Charles Harrison, blacks must become more involved in the management of natural resources and in efforts to preserve and protect the environment. He praised a novel insurance program currently being developed in Michigan. Intended to spare taxpayers the cost of hazardous waste clean-ups, this program requires contributions from local industries to a fund that will be used to pay for any such clean-ups.

Sue Lerner advocated the use of alternative energy sources to overcome certain environmental problems. For example, she said, popular use of electric cars would markedly reduce the amount of lead in the atmosphere—most of which comes from the exhaust of gasoline-powered automobiles.

The Voting Rights Act *(tape # 8)*

Chair: Henry Kirksey, State Senator, MS; *Panelists:* Armand Derfner, Voting Rights Consultant, JCPS; Lani Guinier, Assistant Counselor, NAACP Legal Defense Fund; Frank Parker, Director, Voting Rights Project, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law

The speakers explored barriers to registration and political empowerment. One barrier to full political participation is electoral systems, particularly at-large elections, that dilute minority electoral strength. Single-member districts offer black candidates a better chance of being elected, because even when a jurisdiction is majority white, certain areas within that jurisdiction are likely to be majority black. But it turns out that the greatest barriers to full participation may not be subtle at all: barriers to registration include unnecessarily complicated registration forms, out-of-the-way registrars, and registrars who are open only at odd or inconvenient hours. To eliminate these barriers, the panelists explained, blacks must organize politically, familiarize themselves with the Voting Rights Act, lobby for changes in local procedures, and assist disabled persons who wish to

register. Such barriers, argued Lani Guinier, are not peculiar to the South; "there are problems all over the country," she said.

Private Sector Resources *(tape #4)*
Chair: Ernest N. Morial, Mayor, New Orleans; *Panelists:* James C. Allison, Corporate Affirmative Action Coordinator, Gilbane Building Company; Kent B. Amos, Director, Corporate Urban Affairs, Xerox Corporation; Sanford Cloud, Jr., Consultant, Aetna Life and Casualty; Frederick M. Stevens, Senior Vice President, K Mart Corporation

This session was especially well attended, demonstrating black officials' commitment to work with the private sector to improve conditions in their districts. The panelists looked at three kinds of public/private sector interactions: government contracting with private industry, corporate services to local governments, and government assistance to local small businesses.

James C. Allison encouraged black officials to master the intricacies of the construction business so they can structure the bidding process to yield the greatest good for their city or locality. Officials should consider applicants' record in hiring and subcontracting to minorities and spell out exactly what a company must do to win a contract.

Kent Amos stressed the three "R's" of public/private partnerships: research, relationship, and return. *Research* into a company's activities may inform elected officials of other services available from the firm; maintenance of a strong *relationship* with the private sector will enable officeholders to better serve their constituents; and both partners will want to know what *return* they can expect as a result of their alliance.

Frederick Stevens suggested that black officials encourage small businesses within their districts to seek out opportunities for supplying goods and services to larger firms in the private sector, thereby bringing both jobs and additional tax revenues into the community. He then detailed a K-mart program intended to assist minority manufacturers of consumer goods who wish to supply their products to K-mart.

Strategies in Voter Mobilization
Session I *(tape #13). Chair:* Julia Carson, State Senator, IN; *Panelists:* Antonio Harrison, Deputy Chairman for Political Participation, DNC; Ronald McDuffie, Black Field Coordinator, RNC; Geraldine Thompson, Executive Director, Voter Education Project
Session II *(tape #18). Chair:* Representative Walter E. Fauntroy; *Panelists:* Gracia Hillman, Executive Director, National Coalition on Black Voter Participation; Joseph Madison, Director, NAACP Voter Education Department; William Vasquez, former Director of the Mayor's Office of Latino Affairs.

Registration and participation remain extremely important issues for blacks—representatives of both the Democratic and Republican National Committees encouraged black officials to mount registration drives in their districts. Panelists at the second session explained the goals and methods of three of the more prominent voter registration drives now under way.

The strategy of the NAACP involves the use of "block captains," who are responsible for registering, educating, and turning out the black voters on individual city blocks. NAACP has also targeted 18- to 24-year-old blacks for registration and has persuaded many high school principals to become deputy registrars so that high school seniors can be signed up before they graduate.

The National Coalition on Black Voter Participation emphasizes the formation of coalitions on the local level to learn the election laws and determine how best to use them to register new black voters. Through its "Operation Big Vote," this group works with civic organizations to train registrars and to register, educate, and turn out black voters.

The Southwest Voter Education Project, which seeks to increase the number of registered Hispanic voters, has also targeted 18- to 24-year-olds in its voter registration drives. SVEP is working to obtain wider media coverage of the potential influence of the Hispanic vote, in hopes that this will bring about greater participation. The group is also seeking to ease the voting process for non-English-speaking citizens by having ballots and instructions printed in Spanish in certain jurisdictions.

Creative Financing of Public Services *(tape #19)*
Chair: John H. Stroger, Jr., County Commissioner, Cook County, IL; *Panelists:* Travers Bell, Chairman of the Board, Daniels & Bell, New York, NY; Maynard H. Jackson, Partner, Chapman & Cutler, Atlanta, GA; Samuel P. Katz, President, Public Financial Management, Inc., Philadelphia, PA; Raymond McClendon, Vice President, Community Development, Federal National Mortgage Association

Increased political participation, it turns out, may also play a role in obtaining new sources of financing for public services.

Maynard H. Jackson, former mayor of Atlanta, explained that tax-exempt bonds may be used to finance various city projects, and Raymond McClendon said that the Federal National Mortgage Association offers some specific redevelopment programs that might interest black officials. Both speakers made clear the need for political savvy to take advantage of these alternatives.

For example, one official wanted to know whether there was any legislation mandating the use of minority law firms as bond council in certain municipal deals. No, he was told, and since local legislative bodies would be the ones to issue such mandates, black officials must learn to lobby these groups effectively.

Public Sector Resources I
Session I *(tape #2). Chair:* Ben F. Andrews, Councilman, Hartford, CT; *Panelists:* John Lynch, Assistant Director, Office of Economic Adjustment, U.S. Department of Defense; Henry T. Wilfong, Associate Administrator for Minority and Small Businesses, Small Business Administration
Session II *(tape #16). Chair:* Representative Parren J. Mitchell; *Panelists:* Rosslee Douglas, Director, Office of Minority Economic Impact, U.S. Department of Energy; Stephanie Lee-Miller, Assistant Secretary, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

Federal agencies are an often overlooked source of advice and financing for public programs and

minority businesses. Speakers in the two seminars on Public Sector Resources identified several departments and agencies within the federal government that provide such assistance and described the way they operate.

The Office of Minority Economic Impact, an arm of the Department of Energy, has a specific mandate to assess continually the impact of federal energy regulations, procedures, and programs on minorities. This office also provides management and technical assistance to minority businesses and organizations in the energy field. What's more, the Department of Energy administers a Minority Bank Development Program and a loan program to provide up to 75 percent of the funds necessary to develop proposals to be submitted to the department. This program currently has $1 million in unspent funds.

Each division within the Department of Health and Human Services has its own Office of Small Business, which helps channel grants to minority small businesses and purchases goods and services from these same firms. HUD and the Departments of Defense and Labor were also cited for similar efforts to aid minority small businesses.

Ben Andrews asserted that leveraging public money with private funding is the most effective financing tactic because a solid commitment from the private sector smooths the path to public dollars and because minorities should begin to do more of their business with the private sector, moving away from dependence on an ever-shrinking federal pot.

The Impact of Race in American Courts *(tape #12)*
Chair: George Crockett, Jr., U.S. House of Representatives, MI; *Panelists:* Derrick Bell, Dean, University of Oregon, School of Law; Judge Robert L. Carter, U.S. District Judge, NY; Lynn Walker, Program Officer, Ford Foundation

All panelists agreed that racism afflicts the criminal justice system at every stage from arrest to incarceration. Harsh treatment of blacks occurs most frequently when people within the system exercise discretion: policemen deciding whether to arrest; prosecutors deciding what charges to bring, what terms to offer in a plea bargain, or whether to exclude blacks from juries; judges in sentencing; and parole boards in setting dates of release.

Yet this racism is rarely explicit; most often it is implicit and institutional. Many blacks are disadvantaged by their lack of education and money. Furthermore, consensus among the panelists held that the criminal justice system cannot be rid of racism until the society is rid of racism and that, therefore, other peripheral reforms are doomed to failure. Blacks, they said, must gain substantial influence within the government before racial bias in discretionary decisions can be eliminated.

"What can be done now to sensitize judges to racism?" asked one black official. "Put more black judges on the bench; this has some effect." Racial sensitivity training at judicial conferences was also suggested.

Several people in the audience advocated enlisting community service organizations to divert troubled youth from the labyrinthine court system.

Building and Maintaining Coalitions *(tape #3)*
Chair: Joanne M. Collins, Councilwoman, Kansas City, MO; *Panelists:* Dolly Adams, National President, LINKS, Inc.; Debra DeLee, Manager, Political Affairs Division, National Education Association; Harry Pachon, Executive Director, National Association of Local Elected Officials

Coalitions that transcend racial, gender, and ethnic lines must be founded on issues that appeal strongly to each of the coalition members. The coalition to extend the Voting Rights Act in 1982 emerged as

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the prime example of such a coalition: women's groups, many religious denominations, Hispanic and black organizations, organized labor, and corporations worked together effectively for many months—precisely because the issue was a concrete one of particular interest to each of the groups involved.

The competition for resources that perennially plagues disadvantaged minorities was overcome in this case and can be submerged in other coalitions around common goals, such as civil rights protection and economic advancement. Such coalitions multiply influence exponentially by uniting relatively powerless minorities into a powerful constituency.

Employment and Training in a Changing Economy

Session I *(tape #6). Chair:* Virgil Brown, County Commissioner, Cuyahoga County, OH; *Panelists:* Elton Jolly, Executive Director, Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, Inc.; Marc Stepp, Vice President, United Auto Workers; David H. Swinton, Director, Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy

Session II *(tape #11). Chair:* Hilda Pemberton, Councilwoman, Prince George's County, MD; *Panelists:* Ernest Green, President, Green-Herman and Associates; Glen Loury, Professor of Economics and Afro-American Studies, Harvard University; William Lucy, International Secretary/Treasurer, AFSCME

Participants complained that the Jobs Training Partnership Act (JTPA), which replaced the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, gave the private sector greater authority in the administration of federally financed programs for local employment and training. In fact, a surprising consensus that emerged in this session was a positive reevaluation of CETA; it was praised for giving the public sector greater authority in grants administration and for its direct federal-local link (JTPA routes federal dollars for local programs through the state government).

Ernest Green advocated public service employment as a way to give people jobs, train them, and provide necessary services all at the same time.

Education, too, received another shot in the arm. After observing that the education of black youth continues to lag that of whites, Glen Loury encouraged black officials to direct more attention and money toward education and to maintain a racial balance in schools. He also recommended the formulation of national policies on youth unemployment, including a subminimum wage and some means of providing young people with training and actual work experience.

Officials attending the seminar suggested using the military, community colleges, and land grant colleges to provide basic skills to the hard-core unemployed.

Institute Proposals

Although few resolutions were formally passed at the institute, various proposals were set forth for discussion at the closing general session. For example, there was much discussion of the need to establish a new dialogue between the black and Jewish communities to allay tensions between the two groups. And participants expressed strong interest in establishing a national task force to study the problems of the black family and similar interest in research on hunger in America.

On the urging of the black judges, the group censured the administration's record of appointment of black judges. Judge Revius Ortique pointed out, "This administration has appointed only three blacks to federal judgeships, and not one single black woman. That's disgraceful." They called on President Reagan to draw upon a list of names of black attorneys certified as qualified by the National Bar Association in order to increase the number of black judges. They stressed the importance of black judges as role models for youth as well as influential figures in their own right.

Participants' interest in these and other issues will be considered by members of the national steering committee as they discuss plans and programs for future institutes.

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